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The Architectural Competition and the Concept of ‘The Client Regime’

– from requirement in invitation to selection of design teams

MAGNUS RÖNN

I. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents and discusses a theory; *the client regime theory*. It is a theory for understanding prequalified competitions in architecture and urban design from the client perspective. Focus is on the very first step in the competition as a process. In the centre of the theory are issues of steering competitions in an early stage by invitation and selection of design teams. In these competitions design proposals have to be presented anonymously to the client. The jury is therefore forbidden to communicate with the invited design teams during their development of design solutions. Steering restricted competition processes must therefore either be ahead of time by invitation and selection of design teams or after choosing participants through design and jury assessment of the competition proposals.

The theory is founded on results from a research project (Rönn, 2012), which investigated prequalification in architectural competitions and developer competitions.¹ In both these competitions the organizer initiates the process with an invitation. Candidates reply to invitations by sending in applications. The clients' selection committees then choose design teams. If there are more applicants than places in the competition the organizer must make an evaluative selection. Some candidates have to be seen as more suitable than others. This is the basic problem, common for all competitions with a limited number of participants.

In Sweden the majority of architectural competitions and developer competitions are organised by municipalities. The town planning office is a main actor

1 The concept “developer competitions” can also be translated as “real estate competitions”. The main competitors are companies such as builders, construction companies and real estate managers.

in architectural competitions and take part in the jury. Property departments in municipalities control developer competitions. In restricted architectural competitions the economic compensation covers development of design proposals. But it is the future assignment and implementation of the winning design that makes the competition attractive. The same goes for developer competitions. This type of competition enables developers, builders, constructors and real estate managers to procure publicly owned land. They compete with both design and financial offers. The winner gets access to the site. It is a risky investment in future profits. The realization is controlled by a land allocations agreement between the municipality and the company behind the winning design.

There is no architectural research on developer competitions in Sweden from an architectural and competition perspective. I have only found one study in Finland by Leif Östman (2012, 2014) investigating this type of competition from an architectural point of view. Government agencies, research reports and university papers that have a management, economic, legal and business perspective on land allocation dominate the literature on developer competitions, both in Sweden and abroad (Stenberg, 2006; Liske 2008; Rönn, 2012). Architecture and prequalification of design teams do not play a leading role in these investigations. Thus, my study contributes new knowledge that is important for the understanding of restricted competitions and their conditions. This theorizing of the early phase in competitions can hopefully contribute and show steering principles in action.

The academic research on architectural competitions covers 17 theses.² They can be divided into two main types: research on competitions from an architectural historical perspective and analyses of contemporary competitions. However, there are few studies about how design teams are selected. Focus is on design proposals, quality and judgment. There are a handful of research papers about prequalification for architectural competitions in Holland, Denmark and Sweden. Leentje Volker (2010) has investigated how public promoters in Holland contract architectural services using architectural competitions. There is dissatisfaction among architects towards the bureaucratic and expensive application requirements from public clients (Kroese, Meijer & Visscher, 2009; Volker,

2 The following theses have a major part dealing with competitions: Blomberg 1995; Waern, 1996; Tostrup, 1999; Bloxham Zettersten, 2000; Sauge, 2003; Östman, 2005; Fialho, 2007; Rustad, Svensson, 2008; 2009; Hagelqvist, 2010; Volker, 2010; Schmiedeknecht 2010; Katsakou, 2011; Andersson, 2011, Silberberger, 2011; Cucuzzella 2011; Ramberg 2012; Fuchs, 2013; Jacobsen, 2014; Guilherme, 2016.

2010). Procurement regulations are criticized both by architects and clients in the public sector in Holland.

Volker and Lauche (2008) note that the assessment of architects for competitions and the judging of design proposals resemble each other, even though the criteria differ. The selection is based on a combination of experience, reputation, references and architectonic qualities. Kristian Kreiner and Merete Gorm reviewed prequalification in Denmark in 2008 and 2009. Mapping from 2008 gives an account of the promoters' perspective. Kreiner and Gorm seek knowledge using questionnaires aimed at architect offices and promoters (public and private clients).

In 2011 I have investigated prequalification of architectural firms in ten competitions held by municipal or government organizers (Rönn, 2011, 2014). The organizers' selection committees evaluated the applications from design teams using the same "soft" criteria as in judging design proposals. These are criteria with an open character that are used for identifying and assessing qualities in architecture. The main purpose is ranking. The result is in line with findings by Volker and Lauche (2008). But first the candidates have to fulfill a number of "must have" demands specified in the invitation. Otherwise applications don't move on to the next step for assessing design teams. The "soft" criteria are crucial to selection committees when making a final decision at the end of the evaluation. In a follow-up research project I examined prequalification in three architectural project competitions and three developer competitions (Rönn, 2012). The findings from these six case studies have been used for theorizing invitation, application and selection of design teams in restricted competitions. I will (re)use findings from the research project in this paper.

Aim, concept, model and method

My theorizing in this article is built on case studies. I have two purposes. First, I want to present a theory on the client regime in restricted competitions. The early stage of competitions, when the client selects design teams, is in focus. Thus it is only the first phase in the competition that is discussed as the client regime in the paper—not the steering principles of the competition process as a whole. Second, I wish to test and explore the theorizing of empirical findings in architectural and developer competitions. The theory provides a fundamental model of how design teams are invited to restricted competitions in Sweden. The emphasis is on control of the competition through the invitations, which

is how the design teams meet restricted competitions, followed by reflection on the choice of design teams.

The ability to deliver good advice to the organizers determines whether the theory is useful for practice. The client has to make a number of strategic choices in the invitation depending on the objective and design task. I hope that the theory contributes to the understanding of the power play between clients and design team, lays a good foundation for advice to the organizers and can be used to find explanations of the result from prequalification. Even if the future is always unsure it is possible to predict some of the forces that restricted competitions set in motion. This is because restricted architectural competitions follow a set of regulations and established praxis. Developer competitions are organized in local traditions.

The empirical base is six prequalified competitions in Sweden, which had housing and architecture for an aging population as the competition task (see appendix). Municipalities and public developers organized these competitions. Case studies have been used as means of investigation. The research method is suitable for both theoretical development and for testing of fundamental assumptions (Stake, 1995; Johansson, 2000; Flyvbjerg, 2005). I will present a detailed description of the organizers' invitation. This gives a good picture of the fundamental conditions for architectural competitions and developer competitions. The similarities and differences in the invitations highlight areas for reflections.

The concept "regime"

The concept of regime has been used by Gösta Esping-Andersen (1990) to describe a country's political, economic and social organization. This welfare regime can be seen as an overall model for different steering systems: conservation, liberal and social democrat ideas. Adrian Rip and René Kemp (1998) move the regime from the political arena to the market. They have developed a model of technological regimes which describes the socio-technological changes in the market. The regime consists in their model of performances by engineers and technicians in companies, guided from an overall strategic level to an operational level with responsibility for the actual performance. The regime conveys what is prescribed in the operations and sets a framework for what is seen as possible. David Easton (1965) understands the political regime as principles, norms and processes within a specific part of society,

applied by key players. This idea can be transferred to the concept of the client regime and its selection of design team in prequalified competitions. Here is a clear link to competitions as a political arena in Europe (Bento, 2012). Architectural competitions are included in the national architectural policy that emerged in Europe during the 1990s. The competition is also regulated in the EU by Procurement Directive (2004/18 / EC) transferred to member states' legislations. EU provides a legal framework for the procurement of architectural services for the public sector by competitions. Competitions in architecture and urban design are advertised in the electronic system for procurement in EU.

The client regime as concept can be interpreted as an architectural policy in Europe, and understood as a socio-technical-legal system for the selection of design teams in invited competitions with limited participation. Principles in a competitions context refer to the way an organizer selects design teams based on the requirements and criteria in the invitation. Norms can be seen as demands in the organizers' invitation referring to the law on public procurement. Also criteria presented in the invitation for ranking candidates represent norms, but they are a result of experience and practice. The criteria have an open character, which makes it possible for the selection committee in a second step to choose the desired design teams among the candidates who meet the "must have" requirements. That is if the organizers have managed to attract enough competent candidates. The process in the client regime starts with the choice of the competition form by the organizing body, requirements and criteria presented in the invitation, and the ranking of candidates for the election of the design team for participation in the competition. The key players in the organizing body are senior officials and the selection committee. The scope is the competition. Their space for manoeuvre is determined by the number of applications from design teams from companies in the private sector.

Model and fundamental functions

The theoretical hypothesis of the client regime is that the organizer's choice of design team is a combination of attractors and gatekeepers. These are two fundamental functions in invited competitions that arouse interest from firms and design teams, or respectively, discourage potential candidates, and regulate the choice of design teams for competition tasks. Attractors are non-humans

agencies in terms of the actor-network-theory (Latour, 1990, 1999). Gatekeepers on the other hand are human agencies represented by selection committees. The condition for gatekeeping as action is specified by the organizer of a competition and presented in an invitation to potential candidates, companies in the consulting and building sector. The relationship creates a dynamic power game of functions in architectural and developer competitions as well as chance during the process. How the meeting evolves between attractors and gatekeepers as functions in a specific case determines the participating of design teams in competitions. The client regime represents a general steering by means of information about the purpose of the competition and objectives for the design task, demands and criteria in the invitations. This is a kind of strategic steering in an uncertain world toward an unknown future in order to solve wicked design problems. The following graphic model summarizes fundamental ideas in the concept of client regime:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{Potential} \\
 \text{Design Teams} \\
 + \\
 \text{Attractors} \times \text{Gatekeepers} = \text{Invited Design Teams} \\
 + \\
 \text{Selection}
 \end{array}$$

Figure 1: Model on the client regime theory.

Attractors and gatekeepers are at the center of the model. They are two fundamental functions in restricted competitions, each within their own context, and have a dynamic relationship to each other. Attractors arouse interest from clients and potential design teams. The client would like to know how different attractors in invitations influence the number of applications from potential design teams and how they could be constructed. The ability in an invitation to entice clients, free up capacity and resources for applications are crucial in theory and practice. Without attractive content organizers will not get an adequate number of competent participants. Typical attractors in restricted competitions can now be summarized:

Table 1: Attractors in competitions

Attractors Criteria for judging attraction	Architectural Competition	Developer Competition
Task: Degree of Challenge	High impact	Moderate impact
Market value & prestige in building sector	High impact	Moderate impact
Compensation: Prize sum in the competition	High impact	No impact
Compensation: Future incomes for winner	Moderate impact	High impact
Organiser: Clients reputation and ability	High impact	High impact
Jury: Degree of competence, independence	High impact	Low impact
Selection committee: Competence	Low impact	Low impact
Condition: rules, approval and experience	High impact	Low impact
Assignment to the winner: promises	High impact	High impact

The table points out some important similarities and differences in attraction in architectural and developer competitions. Common to these is the fact that design teams are attracted by professional challenge in design tasks, marketing value and prestige, client's reputation and ability to implement the winning design. Differences can be assumed in regard to compensation for delivery of design proposals, members in the jury, future income and attractors connected to the regulations of competitions.

The function of the gatekeepers is to limit participation in the competition and regulate the choice of the design teams. This function is essential to all restricted competitions performed by members in selection committees. The client provides general information in the invitation, the must-have requirements that are mandatory for the applicants and the criteria the organizer intends to use for identifying a suitable candidates for the design task. The gatekeepers represented by selections committees have chosen three to six teams for the investigated architectural and developer competitions.

The conditions presented in the invitation exemplify the qualities the client is seeking in the participants. This governance at an early stage must be balanced according to the availability of potential teams that can provide safety, professional skills and a good solution to the design problem at hand. Too strict demands may (a) discourage many firms, (b) minimize competition and (c) deter the emergence of innovative design teams.

Gatekeepers in the competitions provide control for clients. Selection committees review the applications and rank candidates. This is done by taking into consideration (a) requested documentation, (b) reference projects and their relevance, (c) information from the reference persons, d) the competence and professional composition of the team, (e) the creative abilities of the candidates and, (f) resources for carrying out the competition task.

The client regime is part of a wider competition process. For this reason I have constructed a general model on competitions in architecture and urban design as a research field. The context for the client regime can be described like this:

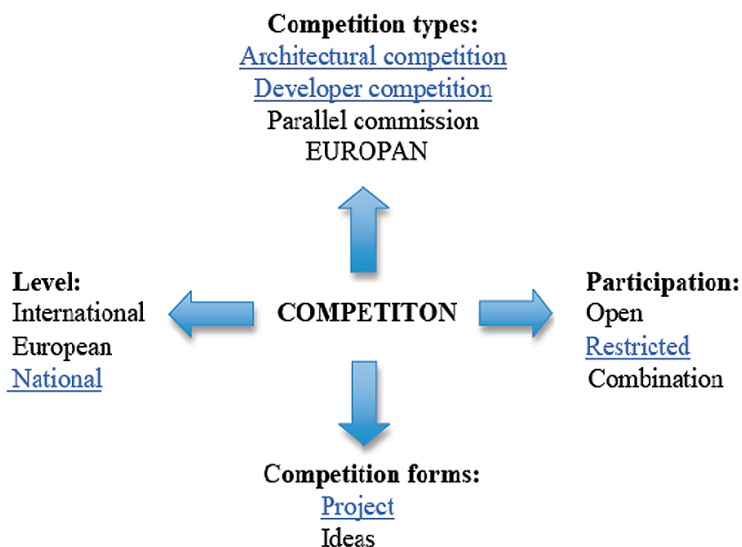


Figure 2. General model of competition as a research field in Sweden

The empirical data in the study comes from competitions marked in blue in the general competition model depicted in Figure 1. The six case studies in Gävle, Linköping, Burlöv, Danderyd, Nacka and Trelleborg are all organized as restricted competitions on a national level. Furthermore, they are project competitions oriented towards implementation. A typical feature of national competitions in Sweden is a language demand in the invitation. The brief is written in Swedish and the design proposals have to be presented in Swedish. There is

sometimes also a demand in the invitation for knowledge in the Swedish building codes. It is a type of regulation, which attracts Swedish design teams and limit competition from abroad. Gatekeepers will check the applications based on the demands in the invitations. The outcome can at least in part be predicted by the client regime theory.

2. CASE STUDIES

Here is a short description of the six competitions as cases.³ The description is based on the organizers' invitation and includes key information from each competition about the design task and general conditions, objectives, requirements and criteria for selection. This is the information in the invitation used by companies and design teams to decide if they will form a design team and apply for prequalification. Attractors and gatekeepers are embedded in the invitation by the organizers.

Case 1: Senior housing in Gävle

AB Gavlegårdarna is a public developer. The company sent out an invitation for prequalification in 2011 (Advertisement, Pre-qualification for Project Competition). The competition has two aims. First, the organizer wants to receive design proposals for attractive and suitable housing for senior citizens. Second, to negotiate architectural services for the assignment. Four firms are going to be chosen for the competition. The winner will design the buildings if the organizer carries out the project.

The competition area is 13 000 square meters and includes attached houses from the 1960s. The buildings have technical defects and accessibility problems. The organizer wants to refurbish the area and supplement the existing

3 Empirical data from data from competitions were collected during 2010-2012. Internet homepages at municipalities in Sweden have been examined. The inventory resulted in a selection of prequalified competitions with housing and architecture for an ageing society as the common competition task. By questioning the organizers I obtained access to invitations, applications and documents from the selection procedure. These documents have been analyzed through close reading. Personal experiences have been collected from all individuals in the selection committees in the six competitions using an open questionnaire on the competitions background, competition form, judging process and personal experience from prequalification. The response was good. 20 of the 24 members in the selection committees answered the interview guide. Their professional merits had an interdisciplinary nature with an emphasis on architecture, planning, public procurement and care for the aging.

buildings with new housing to enable the elderly to continue living there. The need for new housing is somewhat unclear. According to the competition program the area should be supplemented with at least 50 apartments (AB Gavlegårdarna, 2011-10-10).

The general information in the invitation to prequalification is:

- Competition form: Invited project competition.
- Number of invitations: four companies (architectural firms/competition teams).
- Remuneration: 150 000 SEK per participant after submission of approved proposal. The winner will receive an additional 50 000 SEK; in total the sum expended will be 650 000 SEK.

The "must-haves" in the invitation are:

- Register: The application must include a list of the material submitted.
- Company information: Name, organization number, postal address, telephone number, e-mail address and web site.
- Taxes: Affidavit stating that all taxes and fees have been paid. This affidavit may not be more than 3 months old.
- Financial status and economic issues: Affidavit from a business and credit report company with information about key economic figures and risks. This affidavit may not be more than three months old.
- Reference project: Review of three reference projects the applicant considers relevant to the competition task, at least one of which has been completed.
- References: Contact information including name, address, telephone number, e-mail to the reference persons for each project.
- Curriculum vitae: A CV for each of the key persons and their role in the reference projects.
- Project organization: Statement of the project organization for eventual continued assignment. The team should have experience and knowledge about Swedish norms/demands.
- Language: The application should be in Swedish, which is also the language of the project assignment.



Figure 3. Winning design in competition at Gävle. Winner: Nyrén Arkitektkontor.

Applicants that fulfill the requirements will be evaluated according to the following criteria:

- Architectonic design capacity with regard to the design of buildings in the existing environment, adaptation of green areas, re-building, new building and accessibility.
- Housing design for seniors and knowledge of their needs including prerequisites as well as personnel and technical support.
- Competence in project organization and experience from planning and projecting.

According to the invitation the organizer has appointed a selection committee of three persons to judge the professional merits of the candidates. The committee is made up of a technical director, an architect from the municipality and an outside consulting architect. Out of 36 applicants, the committee chose the following four architectural firms/teams to participate in the competition (AB Gavlegårdarna, 2011-09-19):

- Basark; a design team from one architect office in Sweden.
- Nyréns Arkitektkontor; a design team from one architect office in Sweden.
- Rahel Belatchew Arkitektur & Uribo; a design team from two architect offices in Sweden.⁴
- White Arkitekter; a design team from one major architect firm in Sweden.

⁴ Uribo can no longer be found as an architect office.

Case 2: Housing for assisted living in Linköping

In 2011 the municipality of Linköping issued an invitation to prequalification through the local authority for care of the elderly and the built environment (Linköping municipality, 2011-08-21). The competition had two purposes. First, the organizer wants proposals for assisted living with various constellations. Second, the municipality is going to negotiate architectural services. Four teams will be chosen for the competition. The winner is promised the assignment provided it is carried through.

The background to the competition is that the town districts are in shortage of housing for senior citizens in an area where the aged population is increasing. The municipality hopes that the competition will increase the possibilities of the senior citizen to remain in the area. The competition assignment included some 40 new assisted living apartments with common areas. The competition assignment also included adapting the outdoor areas to suit the needs of the elderly.

The general information for prequalification stated in the invitation is:

- Competition form: Invited project competition.
- Number of invitations: Four firms (architectural firms/teams).
- Remuneration: 200 000 SEK per participant after submission of an approved proposal, in total 800 000 SEK.

The “must-haves” in the invitation are:

- Listing: The application should include a register listing the material submitted.
- Company information: Name, registration number, address, telephone, e-mail and web site of the firms in the competition team.
- Company structure: Affidavit stating the company forms of the competing firms.
- Financial status and economic issues: Affidavit from a legal credit survey company containing information about the key economic figures and risks for the competing company. This document cannot be more than three months old.

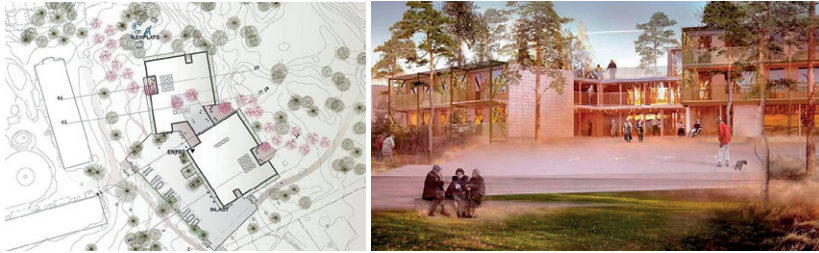


Figure 4. Winning design in competition at Linköping. Winner: Marge Arkitekter + Land Arkitektur.

- **Reference projects:** An account of four reference projects, which the contestant considers relevant to the goal of the competition. Pure marketing information may not be submitted.
- **Reference persons:** Contact information including name, address, telephone, e-mail for the reference persons for each reference project.
- **Curriculum Vitae:** Statement with CVs for key persons, their roles in the reference project and eventual further assignment.
- **Project organization:** Description of project organization for eventual further assignment. The team should have experience and knowledge of Swedish norms and regulations. The applicant should also describe how they will meet the demand for capacity and availability if awarded the project in Linköping.
- **Quality and environment:** Description of quality and environmental management assurance system for the firms involved in the application.
- **Language:** The competition and project language is Swedish. Applications should be submitted in Swedish with the exception of documents such as publications, articles, jury statements etc., which may also be in Norwegian, Danish or English.

Applicants that meet the requirements will be evaluated according to the following criteria:

- Relevant competence in design and functionality.
- Competence from other related assignments.
- Candidates presenting a wide and varied illustration of the competition goal.

According to the invitation the selection committee, a group of experts from the organizing body, will appoint the candidates for the competition. Two of these are architects employed by the municipality and two are persons with experience in health care and care giving. The selection committee chose four firms/teams for the competition out of 33 applicants. Two of the invited teams included architects from Denmark (Linköping municipality, 2011-11-01). The following design teams were chosen for the competition:

- Fojab Arkitekter & JJW Arkitekter; a design team from two architect firms, one Swedish office and one Danish office (JJW).
- MAF Stockholm & Argark; a design team from two Swedish architect firms.
- Marge Arkitekter & Land Arkitektur; a design team from two Swedish firms, one architect office and one landscape architect office.
- Semrén + Månsson & Rubow Arkitekter; a design team from two architect firms, one Swedish office and one Danish office.

Case 3: Senior housing in Burlöv

In 2011 Burlöv municipality organized a restricted competition in cooperation with a private developer, the landowner; Kronetorps Park AB (Burlöv municipality, 2011-09-26). This competition also had two purposes. First, the organizer wants to receive suggestions for new housing and environments with an especially high quality including activities for the elderly. Second, the organizer wishes to negotiate architectural services for designing 100 apartments and drawing up a detail plan for development in the area.

Kronetorp is the municipality's largest remaining land resource located in a strategic area between Malmö and Lund with direct train connections to Copenhagen. Burlöv municipality has plans to transform Kronetorp into an age-integrated town district for 60,000 inhabitants with work places and cultural and recreational activities.

The general information in the invitation for prequalification is:

- Competition form: Invited project competition.
- Number of invited participants: Three firms/teams will be invited to compete.

- Remuneration: 300 000 SEK after submission of approved proposal; in total 900 000 SEK.

The “must-haves” in the invitation are:

- Listing: The application should include a list of the material submitted.
- Company information: Name, organization number, address, telephone and applicant's web site.
- Company form: Affidavit stating the firms' structure.
- Curriculum Vitae: A CV for each key person in the competition project must be provided.
- Project organization: Statement of the project organization with an eventual continuation of the assignment including the key persons and their work contribution in percent. The team should have experience and knowledge of Swedish norms and demands.
- Reference project: At most five relevant reference projects of which at least two must be implemented. The material in the application may include printed plans, illustrations, publications and charts.
- Reference persons: Statement of reference persons for the reference projects including name, address, telephone and e-mail.
- Language: Swedish is the language for the competition and project assignment. The application must be made in Swedish. The accompanying documents such as publications, articles and jury statements may be in another language.

Applicants meeting the requirements will be judged according to the following criteria:

- Architectonic ability.
- Capacity for innovative thinking.
- High level of competence in environmental design.
- Competence with regard to the needs of the elderly.
- Experience and resources.

According to the invitation the organizer has appointed a selection committee of five professional persons to choose the candidates for the competition. Two



Figure 5. Winning design in competition at Burlöv. Winner: Johan Celsing Arkitektkontor.

persons in the committee represent the developer who also was the landowner. Three persons represent the municipality: the head of the welfare office and two representatives from the town planning office. The selection committee pointed out three architectural firms/teams to participate in the competition out of 51 applicants (Burlöv municipality 2011-12-06):

- Johan Celsing Arkitektkontor; a design team from one Swedish architect office.
- Tema landskapsarkitekter & Chroma Arkitekter; a design team from two firms, one landscape architect office and architect office.
- White Arkitekter; a design team from one major architect firm in Sweden.

Case 4: Senior housing in Danderyd

Danderyd municipality issued an invitation in 2011 for a developer competition for senior housing. Interested companies were invited to consult the municipality's homepage for further information. The municipality also sent out a special circular to 15 construction companies and real estate managers in Greater Stockholm. According to the invitation 3-6 constructors would be invited to participate in a developer competition.

The municipality has two main goals for the competition. First, the municipality will sell the site to the winner. Second, the municipality wants to receive suggestions for ca. 35 senior apartments suitable for the elderly in a building designed with 2-4 stories (www.danderyd.se). 50 % of the apartments should have a quiet side facing the common courtyard to minimize noise coming from traffic in the area. The municipality will set up a land allocation agreement for realizing the winning proposal with an option for the winner



Figure 6. Winning design in competition at Danderyd. Winner: Strabag projektutveckling + Turako Fastighetsutveckling + Conara. Illustrations: Total Arkitektur och Urbanism.

to directly negotiate the purchase of the property. (Land allocation agreement, KS 2010/03 00).

The general information in the invitation is:

- **Competition form:** Invited developer competition followed by land allocation agreement.
- **Number invited:** 3-6 building contractors or real estate managers.
- **Remuneration:** The competition is held at the expense of the participants. The winner is offered the chance to purchase the property with the building permissions.

The “must-haves” in the invitation are:

- **Company presentation:** Presentation of the company and its experience in building senior housing.
- **Building program:** Presentation of a general program for housing design and equipment to facilitate use by the elderly. Principal/standard design solutions should be included.
- **Quality of life:** Presentation of program with activities which create a rich social life on the property. Principal/standard solutions should be provided.
- **Design ideas:** Sketches presenting the design ideas for the housing and the plot.
- **Reference project:** Summary of references for similar projects by the team that have been carried through by the company at hand.

- **Economic value:** An indication of the value of the site and building permission.
- **Language:** Not specified in the invitation.

The invitation does not specify any criteria for evaluating the applications. According to the development manager for the municipality the intention was to use the same criteria for choosing the candidates and the judging of design proposals in the competition. From this statement the evaluation criteria for selecting candidates may be described as follows:

- **Interior design:** The apartment layouts and common areas may bring an additional value for a maximum of 10 % of the property value. The added value is in relation to the other applications.
- **Architectural Design:** The reference project's architectural design may generate an added value of 10 % of the property value. The added value is for design as compared with the other reference projects.
- **Environmental goals:** The architectural design of the reference project, environmental program and heating can bring an additional value of maximum 15 %. The added value is accorded to low energy homes and solutions that have a passive construction.

A selection committee of three persons will evaluate the companies' applications. The development manager reviews the companies regarding agreements and technology, the city architect judges the design references and a representative from the social services should examine the documents describing the housing. The invitation generated six applications; all of them met the application requirements and proceeded to the competition (Report 2011-05-19). The following six design teams from companies were invited to the developer competition by the organizer:

- Bonum Seniorboende; a design team from one major developer.
- NCC Construction; a design team from one major constructor.
- RCC Stockholm; a design team from one regional constructor.
- Seniorgården; a design team from one developer.
- Skanska; a design team from one major constructor.

- Strabag Projektutveckling + Turako Fastighetsutveckling + Conara; a design team from one major international constructor with a Swedish branch, in cooperation with two small Swedish developers.

Case 5: Rental apartments in Nacka

In 2010 Nacka municipality invited companies to participate in a prequalification competition for housing development (Report 2010-03-09). According to the invitation five design teams with constructors or real estate managers and architects would be asked to participate. The purpose is to designate a builder to construct apartment houses that have their own long term management. The new housing should serve as a model and favour an economic, social and environmentally sustainable construction (Invitation, 2010-03-16).

The area is deemed suitable for a block of 30-50 apartments. At the same time as the competition is being prepared urban planning work begins to make the site accessible for housing purposes. The municipality intends to conclude a land allocation agreement with the winner. The property will be awarded with leasehold. Detail planning of the new property usage will be made in cooperation with the winner.

The general information in the invitation is:

- Competition form: Invited developer competition regulated by LOU, chap. 14, (project competition) followed by land allocation agreement with the winner.
- Number invited: 3-5 design teams (contractors, builder or real estate managers in cooperation with architectural firms).
- Remuneration: The design teams participate at their own expense. The winning company (main applicant) will be granted land allocation for constructing the housing with leasehold for the site. The agreement will be concluded when the detail plan is established.

The "must-haves" in the invitation are:

- List: The application must contain a list of all the enclosed material.
- Company information: Name, registration number of the company, address,

telephone, e-mail, Webb address and affidavits for the company's structure should be included for each company on the team.

- **Economy:** Affidavit describing the company structure and its financial status. The applicant must be a registered company which has never been the object of bankruptcy or insolvency (LOU, 10 chap., §2). The applicant must have a minimum rating of 3 on the UC (Business and Credit Information) credit scale. The certificate may not be more than three months old. The municipality has the right to obtain additional rating certificates to control the information. Foreign companies shall present the equivalent information.
- **New companies:** Newly started companies shall submit a certificate from a bank or verify their economic situation by other means (LOU, 11 chapter, § 7). Guarantee from main owner behind the company is accepted.
- **Taxes:** Completed form from the Swedish Tax Authority not older than three months.
- **Reference project:** 3-5 reference projects, demonstrating the applicant's ability and ambitions to produce climate-smart buildings with low energy use and good adaptation to the site.
- **Company strategy and management:** Planned management organization for the coming rental apartments including reference objects for the property management.
- **Project organization:** Organization for the design proposals. CVs for the key persons who will participate in the competition and their respective roles. Key persons should be experienced in Swedish norms and regulations.
- **Quality assurance and environmental management:** Applicants' system for managing quality and environmental objectives.
- **Rental levels and directions:** Statement of the rental levels for the reference object and the direction and ambitions for rental levels in the design proposals in the competition.
- **Language:** Competition and project language is Swedish. Applications must be in Swedish. Appendices such as publications, articles and jury statements may be in English.



Figure 7. Winning design in competition at Nacka. Winner: Wallenstam + Semrén & Månsson

The company's application will be evaluated according to the following criteria:

- **Housing management:** Experience in long-term facility management, preferably for rental housing.
- **References:** Relevant reference objects, preferably rental properties, rental blocks in hilly terrain and energy-efficient housing.
- **Financial status and facility organization:** Economic standpoint, project organization, future property management and rental levels for the competition project.

The committee that made the choice in Nacka consisted of three persons; the municipality's technical and property director, the city architect and the head of the environmental office. The municipality received seven applications. After examining the applications, the following teams were invited for the competition (Protocol 2010-05-20):

- Botrygg Gruppen + Erséus Arkitekter; a design team from two Swedish firms, one developer in cooperation with one architect office.
- Bygg Vesta Bo + White Arkitekter/ Johan Kirsh; a design team from three Swedish firms, one developer in cooperation with a major architect office and a small architect office.
- Peab Bostad + Engstrand och Speek; a design team from two Swedish firms, one constructor and one architect office.

- Stockholms kooperativa Bostadsförening/kooperativa hyresgästförening + Kjellander och Sjöberg Arkitekter; a design team from two Swedish firms, one regional developer and one architect's office.
- Wallenstam + Semrén & Månsson; a design team from two Swedish firms, one developer and one architect office.

Case 6: Housing block in Trelleborg

In 2011 Trelleborg municipality invited companies to prequalification for a developer to design housing with space on the ground floor for commercial activities (Invitation, Trelleborg municipality). The competition was marketed both on the municipality's home page and through direct contact with 24 companies. The municipality had two purposes behind the developer competition. First, to invite five teams of constructors and architectural firms to take part in the competition. Second, the municipality would sign a land allocation agreement with the company behind the winning proposal for continued planning, design and implementation.

According to the invitation, the municipality is seeking a design team with a strong interest in taking on the future of the city centre. The development should have innovative architecture, communicate the quality demand on urban design and be environmentally sustainable. The price of the land has been set at 2 000 SEK per m². The cost for development of the site is entirely the responsibility of the developer behind the winning design proposal.

The general information in the invitation is:

- Competition form: Invited developer competition followed by land allocation agreement and sale of land.
- Number of invitations: 5 design teams of construction companies and architectural firms.
- Remuneration: 50 000 SEK for each proposal submitted; in total 300 000 SEK as prize money. The winner is offered to buy the property at a price that has been fixed in advance.

The "must-haves" in the invitation are:

- Listing: The application must include a list of the contents of the application



Figure 8. Winning design in the competition at Trelleborg. Winner: Riksbyggen + Arkitektlaget Skåne.

- **Company information:** Description of the construction company with contact information for representatives.
- **Collaborators:** Information about the collaborating architectural firms and the responsible architects.
- **Reference project:** List of references from 2 projects with similar competition tasks carried out by the construction company and architectural firm applying. Time, extent and role of the applicant in the reference project should be described.
- **Economy:** Credit rating from the central credit authority should be provided. It may not be more than three months old.
- **Taxes:** The tax authority form showing paid taxes. This document may not be more than three months old.
- **Language:** Applications and competition proposals are to be in Swedish.

Applications that fulfil the requirements will be evaluated according to the following criteria:

- **Professional merits:** Competence, experience and design teams' references.
- **Long-term facility qualities:** Organizational and economic capacities as well as stability of the constructor/developer.
- **Urban design ability and creativity:** Ability to solve complex real estate and urban assignments requiring creative solutions in all phases: from sketch to implementation of architecture and urban design projects.

The jury made the selection in this case. Four persons from the competition jury evaluated the application proposals and pointed out the design teams for the developer competition. The invitation resulted in eight applications from construction companies in cooperation with architecture firms (Protocol 2012-02-27). The following five competition teams were invited to participate in the competitions:

- JM/ Seniorgården + Plan och byggnadskonst i Lund; a design team from two Swedish firms, one constructor and one architect office.
- Peab Sverige + Grotmij; a design team from two Swedish firms, one constructor and one major architect and engineering office.
- Riksbyggen + Arkitektlaget Skåne; a design team from two Swedish firms, one developer and one architect office.
- TrelleborgsHem + White Arkitekter; a design team from two Swedish firms, one public developer and one major architect office.
- Veidekke Bostad + Metro Arkitekter; a design team from two Swedish firms, one constructor and one major architect and engineering office.

3. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The client regime has an organizing body in municipalities with conflicting interests, expressed in architectural competitions and developer competitions. In architectural competitions the town planning office plays a leading role. This can be seen in Burlöv and Linköping. In Danderyd and Nacka the developer competitions are organized by the propriety departments who manage exploitation of sites and represent the owner of land in negotiations with the company behind the winning design proposal. One conclusion is that the growth of developer competitions reflects a displacement of the public clients' power from the town planning office to the property department. Correspondingly, the interest in competitions is shifted from architecture to the price of the land, building costs and real estate management. There is a much stronger commercial context in developer competitions. The power shift is evident in the invitation to the restricted competitions. The client regime in developer competition seems to be more orientated to financial and economical issues in the invitation.

The client regime plays with two different methods of assembling design teams. The architectural competitions in Burlöv, Gävle and Linköping are directed towards architect offices and landscape architects firms. The developer

competition is directed towards constructors, builders and real estate managers who are the main applicants and make the agreements with municipalities on implementing the winning design. This is also the case even if developers cooperate with architects. In Danderyd only real estate managers were invited to the competition. Here architects are invisible in the applications. In this sense, developer competitions can be seen as a competition form that transfers influence from the architects to the developers and constructors by principles, norms and processes within the organizing body.

The client regime produces a different relation between attractor and gatekeepers. Many competitors wished to participate in Gävle, Linköping and Burlöv. The invitation attracted 120 design teams. Of them 11 (9 %) proceeded to the competition (see appendix, table 1). The conclusion is that architectural competitions have sufficiently strong attractors. Only teams with excellent applications will be chosen because of the tough competition for participating. Gatekeepers thus acquire a steering function in the final choice of design team. The numerous applications from architectural firms generate an evaluation procedure with several meetings of the selection committees. They made a qualitative selection of participants where the "soft" criteria in the invitation play a significant role in the final ranking of design teams.

The conditions for participating in developer competitions in Danderyd, Nacka and Trelleborg varied greatly compared to architectural competitions. The invitation only attracted 21 applications. 16 (76%) were invited to the competitions (see appendix, table 5). Few potential teams and candidates found the conditions attractive enough to invest their resources on drawing up applications. For the client this is a failure. The relationship between attracts and gatekeeping therefore becomes weaker and does not create a need for thoughtful strategies for judging the applications. Selection committees need only meet once. Gatekeeping becomes too simple. Selection committees had to approve a large number of applications that meet the "hard" must-haves in the invitation. There was no need for ranking design teams. For the same reason the "soft" criteria for evaluation don't play the same decisive role in developer competitions as in architectural competition.

General information in invitations

The client regime includes different purposes, profits and benefits for teams in architectural and developer competitions. The information in the invitation

follows a uniform pattern in Burlöv, Gävle and Linköping (see appendix, table 2). This is because the competition is regulated by national competition rules and controlled by The Swedish Association of Architects. The purpose for organizers is both to get good proposals for new housing and an architect for the continued assignment. The winner is promised the assignment as long as the competition is not cancelled. The cash prize money varies from 650 000 SEK to 900 000 SEK. Compensation for the team varies from 150 000 SEK to 300 000 SEK. The payment for the architectural work is in accordance with recommendations from the association of architects. Both the higher price and the more extensive competition assignment in Burlöv act as attractors raising greater interest in the competition from potential candidates in the field of architecture.

The client regime regulations for developer competitions differ. The same degree of uniformity is not found in the invitation to the developer competitions in Danderyd, Nacka and Trelleborg. The competition assignments are directed towards design, construction and management of the housing. The common purpose is that the competition should result in a land allocation agreement (see appendix, table 6). This is the common norm in developer competitions. The agreement will give the winner the sole right to negotiate with the municipality on the realization of its proposal for new housing. Danderyd and Trelleborg intend to sell the land to the winner while Nacka will grant the land for leasehold. Trelleborg set the market price for the land in advance so teams could focus on competing for quality instead of the price of land. Danderyd will sell land to whoever makes the best offer. The competition is at the cost of the participants in Danderyd and Nacka. Developers see participation as a highly uncertain and risky investment in the future. The municipality of Trelleborg is trying to attract more candidates through economic compensation for the development of a design proposal. The prize amount is SEK 300 000 in the invitation. The competing teams will get 50 000 SEK each for their entries. The compensation is very low compared to the assignment and has not resulted in increased interest in the competition.

Must-haves in invitations

The client regime has a tradition in construction invitations. There are several departments involved in producing invitations for public clients, both in architectural competitions and developer competitions. The conclusion is that the "must-haves" in invitations express a common point of view among organizers

and represent a regime supported by conditions based on the law for public procurement and professional practices. Applicants must fulfill these conditions to take part in competitions. Selection committees are satisfied with the content of the applications and consider the choice of teams to be based on sufficiently sound background material.

The "must have" demands in the invitation to competitions in Burlöv, Gävle och Linköping is typical for restricted architectural competitions (see appendix, table 3). The "must-haves" are not negotiable but "hard" conditions. The application must contain all of the required documents. Teams not meeting the requirements will be eliminated. A closer look will reveal that different requirements in the invitation have different emphases. Some convey information about the firm in the application. Documents/illustrations of the reference project, reference persons, competence and project organization for the assignment are needed. There are also requirements giving the organizer the right to disqualify firms with tax debts and weak economies. Reference projects, participants' CVs and composition of the persons in the project organization are data the selection committees weight heavily when evaluating applications.

Two important conditions for gatekeepers in architectural competitions should be commented upon. The first is the requirement for relevant and implemented reference projects. This is a condition that limits renewal in competitions. Young architects and recently started firms cannot meet that requirement. The architectural competitions in Burlöv, Gävle and Linköping favored established firms. This is the general problem with restricted architectural competitions. But difficulties for young architects to participate in competitions will go unnoticed as long as invitations attract a lot of applications from established and competent teams with excellent reference. The second condition is the requirement for Swedish as the language for competitions marketed in European databases. Of course, the work is much easier if everyone speaks Swedish but this condition limits applications from foreign companies. In spite of the requirement two teams competing in Linköping had Danish architect firms as partners. Foreign firms with Swedish contacts have certain possibilities for meeting the language requirement.

The "must-have" requirements for developer competitions in the municipalities of Danderyd, Nacka and Trelleborg have the same "hard" core as in architectural competitions (see appendix table 7). The difference lies mainly in the greater variation of conditions, which can be explained partly by the

fact that there are no national competition rules for developer competitions. Recurring requirements are that applications contain information about the firm, reference projects, reference persons, and document competence and data about the planned project organization. The municipalities of Nacka and Trelleborg also require Swedish as the competition language, which excludes European companies. Moreover, developer competitions also lack the international prestige and status of architectural competitions. Another limiting requirement for developer competitions is that the application must include a tender for the land, future rent levels and management of housing. Only a handful of large firms consider these conditions in the invitation attractive.

The relation between attractors and gatekeepers remains problematic for developer competitions. Conditions in the invitation discourage small local and regional constructors. Mainly large or national developers and real estate managers submit applications. An explanation for this weak interest must be sought outside the competition. Better knowledge of potential candidates in the building sector is needed. The case studies in Danderyd, Nacka and Trelleborg only show that the competition form attracted few candidates, but it says very little about the causes. Since the organizers do not have access to a wide choice of applicants the qualitative evaluation of candidates is weak. The way in which the "must-have" requirements are formulated lead to economic aspects that become more important than the teams' competence and the architectonic quality of the reference project. The competition in Danderyd is an example for this displacement of interest. One of the invited companies in this case is Strabag projektutveckling. The developer is part of an international construction company active in Europe. The goal for Strabag projektutveckling is to "increase turnover from 2 billion to 6 billion (SEK) in Scandinavia" (Application 2011-05-13). A determining factor in this case is that the company offered a price for the purchase of land that was much higher than the competitors'. This developer competition turned out to be more of a price competition.

Evaluation criteria in invitations

The client regime represents a tradition in using criteria for ranking applications. The same type of criteria is used for evaluating design teams for architectural competitions and developer competitions. The criteria reflect praxis based on experience from competitions (see appendix, table 4 and table 8). This conclusion is true for both competition types. The intention is to identify good

qualities, rank applications and point out suitable teams for the competition assignment. Since the criteria are formulated ahead of time they have an open character which gives the selection committee a great deal of leeway. The criteria are used in the final selection of candidates for participating in the competition.

The criteria in the invitation for applications in the Burlöv, Gävle and Linköping competitions are expressed in a very general way (see appendix, table 4). The invitation from Linköpings municipality presents general criteria found in many restricted competitions. The "soft" nature lies in the flexibility and direction of holistic assessments. The focus is on architectonic quality, creative ability, competence and resources of the design team. Burlöv and Gävle even add knowledge of housing for the elderly. A common denominator for the architectural competitions is that the criteria are a part of the evaluative choice of candidates. Only 11 out of 120 teams could participate in the architectural competitions. The fundamental principle is comparison, evaluation and ranking of teams according to preferences, interpretation of references and searching for rational reasons that legitimize the choice.

The invitations to the developer competitions in Nacka and Trelleborg present the same type of "soft" criteria for evaluating the applications (see appendix, table 8). The choice of team is based on judging their creative abilities, references, experience and competence. In Nacka the invitation is completed with additional criteria on energy-efficient housing, long-term facility management, rent level, economic and project organization. Trelleborg requires additional criteria such as economic and organizational capacity and developer stability. The competition in Danderyd differs by using numerical values. Selection committees seek measurable grounds for the subjective choice of teams. That is a normal reaction when negotiating goods and services. The difference with architectural competitions doesn't lie with the criteria but rather with the competition task. That is why criteria in the developer competitions refer to design, construction and management. But since the competitions attract so few applicants the selection committees didn't need to develop assessment strategies to evaluate teams using the criteria.

In summary, the client regime theory is usable for analyzing architectural competitions and contributes to the explanation of how public organizers appoint design teams. Since these competitions have regulations and follow established praxis it is possible to steer the competition through invitation. I have

not been able to demonstrate the theory in developer competitions. The idea of attractors and gatekeepers as two fundamental functions need further investigation. The empirical data in the case studies cannot explain the limited number of applications. Knowledge must be sought outside the organizing body in the market context. What is seen as attractors in the architectural competition and developer competition depends on the competition form, and the impact on design teams differs. Continued research is needed to develop and apply the client regime theory to this invited form of competition.

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Appendix: Tables

Table 1: Applicants, participants and winners in the architectural competitions

Restricted architectural competition	Number of applicants	Invited Candidates	Winning teams
<i>2011, Competition in Gävle</i>	36	4 (11%)	Nyrén Arkitektkontor
<i>2011, Competition in Linköping</i>	33	4 (12%)	Marge Arkitekter & Land Arkitektur
<i>2011, Competition Burlöv</i>	51	3 (6%)	Johan Celsing Arkitektkontor
Total:	120	11 (9%)	

Table 2: General information in invitations to architectural competitions

Aspects	Gävle	Linköping	Burlöv
<i>Competitions form</i>	Restricted project competition	Restricted project competition	Restricted project competition
<i>Number invited teams</i>	4 architect offices/ design teams	4 architect offices/ design teams	3 architect offices/ design teams
<i>Compensation</i>	150 000 SEK per applicant + 50 000 SEK to winner. In total 650 000 SEK.	200 000 SEK per applicant. In total 800 000 SEK.	300 000 SEK per applicant. In total 900 000 SEK.

Table 3: Must-haves in invitations to architectural competitions

Specific demands	Gävle	Linköping	Burlöv
<i>List of enclosed material</i>	A list of submitted material	A list of submitted material	A list of submitted material
<i>Company Information</i>	Name, organization no, phone no, addresses (postal, e-mail, web site)	Name, organization no, phone no, addresses (postal, e-mail, web site)	Name, organization no, phone no, addresses (postal, e-mail, web site)
<i>Company structure</i>	No specific demand	Affidavit stating company form	Affidavit stating the firms' structure
<i>Taxes</i>	Affidavit stating that all taxes and fees are paid	No specific demand (control by the organizer)	No specific demand (control by the organizer)
<i>Financial status and economic issues</i>	Affidavit reports on economics and risks. Not older than 3 month	Affidavit reports on economics and risks. Not older than 3 month	No specific demand (control by the organiser)
<i>Reference project</i>	3 relevant reference projects, at least one has to be completed	4 reference projects, relevant to the goal of the competition	5 relevant reference projects, at least two have to be completed
<i>Reference person</i>	Contact information; name, phone, addresses to each reference	Contact information; name, phone, addresses to each reference	Contact information; name, phone, addresses to each reference

<i>Curriculum vita</i>	CV for key persons in the team and their role in reference projects	CV for key persons in the team, their role in reference projects and eventual assignment	CV for key persons in the competition project
<i>Project organization</i>	Presentation of the team for eventual assignment and their about Swedish norms/demands	Presentation of the team for eventual assignment and their about Swedish norms/demands + availability in place	Presentation of the team at present, for eventual assignment and their about Swedish norms/demands
<i>Quality and environment</i>	No specific demand	Assurance system for quality and environment	No specific demands
<i>Language</i>	Swedish as application and competition language	Swedish as application and competition language	Swedish as application and competition language

Table 4: Evaluation criteria in invitations the architectural competitions

Criteria	Gävle	Linköping	Burlöv
<i>Architectural quality and design capacity</i>	Architectonic design capacity with regard to the existing environment, adaptation of green areas, re-building, new building and accessibility	Relevant competence in design and functionality	Architectonic ability Capacity for innovative thinking
<i>Housing design</i>	Housing for senior citizen and their needs	No specific criteria	Competence in needs of elderly
<i>Competence, experience and resources</i>	Competence in the design team, experience of planning and projecting	Competence from other related assignments	Experience and resources
<i>Other criteria</i>	No specific criteria	Capable teams in relation to the competition goal	High level of competence in environmental design

Table 5: Applicants, participants and winners in the developer competitions

Restricted developer competition	Number of applicants	Invited Candidates	Winning teams
<i>2011, Competition in Danderyd</i>	6	6 (100%)	Strabag Projektutveckling
<i>2012, Competition in Nacka</i>	7	5 (71%)	Wallenstam + Semrén & Månsson
<i>2012, Competition in Trelleborg</i>	8	5 (63%)	Riksbyggen & Arkitektlaget Skåne
Total:	21	16 (76%)	

Table 6: General information in invitations to developer competitions

Aspects	Danderyd	Nacka	Trelleborg
<i>Competitions form</i>	Restricted developer competition + land allocation agreement.	Restricted developer competition + land allocation agreement.	Restricted developer competition + land allocation agreement.
<i>Number invited teams</i>	3-6 building constructors. (No architects firms)	3-5 design teams. (constructors + architects firms)	3-5 design teams. (constructors + architects firms)
<i>Compensation</i>	No compensation for the design proposals. The winner is offered to buy the site.	No compensation for the design proposals. The winner is offered to leasehold the site.	50 000 SEK per invited team. The winner is offered the property at a fixed price.

Table 7: Must-haves in invitations to developer competitions

Specific demands	Danderyd	Nacka	Trelleborg
<i>List of enclosed material</i>	No demand.	A list of documents in the application.	A list of documents in the application.
<i>Company presentation/ Information</i>	Presentation of the company (applicant) and its experience.	Presentation of companies in the design team.	Presentation of constructor including contact information.
<i>Design ideas and building program</i>	Design ideas, general program for housing, principal standard solution and equipment for elderly.	No demand in the invitation.	No demand in the invitation.
<i>Quality of life</i>	General program for activities/social life.	No demand.	No demand.

<i>Company strategy and Collaboration</i>	No demand.	Presentation of property management + references	Presentation of collaborating companies + responsible architects.
<i>Reference project</i>	Similar implemented projects by the design team (housing for senior citizens)	3-5 implemented projects demonstrating the applicant's ability	2 similar implemented projects by the applicant + the role of the design team in these.
<i>Project organization</i>	No demand in the invitation	Organization for the design team + CV for key persons and role.	Professional merits for members of the design teams.
<i>Financial status and economic issues</i>	An indication of the value of site and its building permits from the constructors.	Ambitions for rental. Document showing the financial status. Minimum rating 3 at the credit scale.	Document showing credit rating for invited form credit authority.
<i>Taxes</i>	No demand. (The organizer conduct tax control)	Show paid taxes by document from Tax authority.	Show paid taxes by document from Tax authority.
<i>Language</i>	No specification.	Swedish as application and competition language.	Swedish as application and competition language.

Table 8: Evaluation criteria in invitations in the developer competitions

Criteria	Danderyd	Nacka	Trelleborg
<i>Design</i>	Interior design and architectural design may bring 10% + 10% added value.	Design references (preferably rental houses at complicated sites)	Ability to solve assignment and find creative solutions in all phases from design to implementation.
<i>Professional merits</i>	No specific evaluation criterion.	No specific evaluation criterion.	1) Competence, 2) Experience, 3) References
<i>Environmental goals</i>	Environmental design and construction + program for heating can bring 15% added value.	Energy-efficient housing.	No specific evaluation criterion.
<i>Housing management and economic standpoint</i>	No specific evaluation criterion.	Long-term facility management, rental level, economic and project organization.	Economic and organizational capacity + the developers stability.